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being into a political sphere of action ; and the picture that is presented of modern political life is as free from an undue admixture of ethical elements as is the picture that is drawn of industrial life. For the American reader this is most strikingly apparent in the description of the political development of the United States. Our national portrait is drawn in a manner that is grotesquely like the reality. As a caricature it is a success ; and as the serious view of an eminent European publicist it contains a sharp and salutary lesson ; but it is in fact a representation of what our political organism might be if it were transplanted bodily to Hades, and left unhindered to work out its evil tendencies. Yet the extension of economic principles to the governmental field is one of the valuable features of the book. It must be done consistently if at all. If one believes that a Tartarus under good police regulations offers the ideal condition for a natural economic development, there is no reason why he should set a higher ideal for governmental economics. A consistent course in this respect certainly does not place the system advocated in an attractive light ; and it is quite likely to convert readers to the opposing doctrine. The work of M. de Molinari will be regarded by many adherents of the more progressive school as an argument in favor of their own views ; yet it will stimulate and benefit readers of every school by the clear light in which it places the principles that are most in danger of being forgotten.

J. B. CLARK.

Das schweizerische Auswanderungswesen und die Revision und Vollziehung des Bundesgesetzes betreffend den Geschäftsbetrieb von Auswanderungsagenturen. Bericht im Auftrage des schweiz. Handels- und Landwirthschaftsdepartements erstattet von L. KARRER, Nationalrath. Staempflische Buchdruckerei in Bern, 1886.—vii, 318 pp.

This little volume has been referred to by me a number of times in my article on immigration, in another part of the present number of the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, and I wish to commend it especially to all who are making a serious study of the question. Not that Swiss emigration is of itself of any great importance to us, for the number that come to the United States is exceedingly small, but on account of the spirit and method of the book. It is a most exhaustive, impartial, and common-sense treatment of the whole question. There is no trace of doctrinaireism either on the side of the natural rights of the individual or on that of state authority. The author does not deny the right of expatriation, but he does assert the power of the state to regulate the going and the coming of the emigrant. In fact it is not so much a ques-

tion of rights as it is of interests. What is the real interest of the community that gives the emigrant up, of the community that receives him, and of the emigrant himself? This can best be judged by a history of emigration, an account of the fate of the emigrants, and an examination of the way the business is carried on at the present time. Such a method of study dispels much that is rose-colored about the common view of emigration. Emigration, especially where it has been assisted by the state, has been accompanied by an enormous amount of suffering and hardship. How is it possible to take men out of a community where they are in many ways assisted and held up, and put them down on the frontier, among a strange people, on an uncultivated soil, and deprived of all the organization to which they were accustomed at home, and not have them suffer? The case becomes worse where the emigrants have been paupers and supported by the public. It is no kindness to such men to permit or to encourage their emigration. They are subjected to a struggle for existence for which they are utterly unprepared. The whole proceeding is pure selfishness on the part of the state that expatriates them, and an injury to the state that receives them, upon which fall the crime and misery that attend the work of "natural selection." The case is not much better when such emigrants are actually settled in the new country, — when land is purchased for them and they are started on their new way. They are not the stuff out of which new settlers are made.

A large portion of the book is devoted to the Swiss law of 1880 regulating emigration, to an exposition of its provisions and an account of the cases that have arisen under it. This law was intended to prevent the deportation of paupers, criminals and helpless persons, and to guard emigrants against imposition on the part of emigration agencies. It appears to be faithfully executed; but it needs all the efforts of the federal government to restrain the excessive zeal of the agents, who flood the country with glowing accounts of regions they have never seen, and literally hunt down their prey and almost compel them to go.

The author ascribes emigration to economic causes, but points out that immigration into Switzerland almost equals emigration. But while the latter is almost entirely of people engaged in agriculture, the former is of persons employed in industry. In other words, agriculture is no longer able to take up its own natural increase in population, while industry does that and something more. But the surplus Swiss in agriculture, instead of going over to industry, are sent out of the country, and foreigners are brought in; a process of substitution which is by no means to be commended. The remedy proposed by the author is technical education, so that the sons of the peasants can go into the Swiss industries where it is necessary, and the fatherland retain its own children.

RICHMOND MAYO SMITH.